EL PUEBLO ESPAÑOL, LABORATORY FOR BARCELONA'S FUTURE PAST

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HYPOTHESIS

"This is so real! So perfect! So extraordinary! Excellent! Excellent! I have not realized how brilliant, how extraordinary this work is. This is Spain, this is the essence of Spain I know from my previous trips"[1].

Or

"I do not have the necessity of visiting Spain. Why should I deal with the inconveniences of a trip if with this walk around the Spanish Village I have seen what Spain is? Simply, I am going to tell the French Government, the Paris city council that they should raise a French Village in the outskirts of our capital following the style of this Museum of architectural art. This should be imitated by all the countries around the world because, in so doing, the synthesis of each nation will be visible at first gaze"[2].

Or

"This Village is one of the biggest lessons to those Spanish architects that insist in destroying everything. Here it is, showing how using reinforced concrete one can built a work of art"[3].

Or simply

"This is not a copy, it is the land itself transplanted to Montjuïch!"[4]

Somewhere in *el Pueblo Español* [the Spanish Village] during the Barcelona 1929 International Exposition visitors express enthusiasm and admiration for a *Potenkim* Village that celebrates the democratization of tourism. Built using modern concrete yet mimicking vernacular architecture, the village becomes a shortcut to experience the authentic. *It is not a copy, it is the land itself.* Similar Accounts are fetishistically collected and publish regularly under the title "What some celebrities said after visiting 'the Spanish Village'"[5] to verify and promote the success of the urban experiment. It is not a coincidence that the touristic success of the village resonates with that of Barcelona; it is its prehistory. The 1929 International Exposition celebrated the virtual conclusion of the Cerdà grid –the *metropolization* of Barcelona[6]; it also included a glimpse of the city's future. Understanding urban design as a mass communication device, the village shaped the strategies and mechanisms which eventually informed, after fifty years of hibernation during the Francoist dictatorship, the 1980s renovation of Barcelona's historical district.

1. MACBETH, Madge. the most popular Canadian novelist, in "Lo que han dicho algunas personalidades que han visitado el 'Pueblo Español'", *Diario Oficial de la Exposicion Internacional Barcelona 1929*, n. 4, May 4th, 1929, p. 14. All translations from Spanish to English that follow in the text are mine own unless otherwise noted.
2. BONARDI, Pierre. French writer. Ibid. n. 5, May 19th, 1929. p. 19.
3. ZULOAGA, Ignacio. Basque painter. Ibid. n. 7, May 22nd, 1929. p. 6.
4. DE LUNA, Don Pablo. Spanish composer. Ibid. n. 4, May 4th, 1929. p. 14.
5. Interestingly, the section "What some personalities have said after visiting "the Spanish Village"" [Lo que han dicho algunas personalidades que han visitado el "Pueblo Español"] was featured with scarce regularity in the Diario Oficial de la *Exposicion Internacional Barcelona 1929*. Among a heterodox list of deciduous celebrities, the section included surprisingly renowned commentators like the King of Demark, the Philosopher José Ortega y Gasset or the French entrepreneur Andre Citroen. Yet its value resides in the amount of coincidental descriptions collected, highlighting the organic authenticity of the village and praising its capacity to summarize the atmosphere of Spain in just few streets.
6. The 1929 conclusion of the process of urbanization begun in the 1980s and granted Barcelona metropolitan condition (condition?) was broadly accepted. In urban terms, it was best described by Manuel de Solà-Morales when he identified Barcelona metropolitan condition as the multi-centrality urban structure resulting from the absorption of a series of villages located in the perimeter of the Cerdà grid. That new urban structure emerged in 1901 in the "Plan de Enlaces de Barcelona y Municipios Circunvecinos" known as the Jaussely Plan. The complex urban plan, penned by Léon Jaussely, organized the connections between the new neighborhoods and the central city proposing a coherent city consisting of multiple pieces. Although never entirely completed, the Jaussely Plan was mainly implemented in the years prior the 1929 Exposition, taking advantage of the infrastructural works put in place for the exposition. (Manuel de Solà-Morales, Ten Lessons on Barcelona, COAC, Barcelona 2008) In ideological terms, Ignasi de Solà-Morales notices how the event of the Exposition was at the center of a project for a "Big Barcelona" [Gran Barcelona], organized from the dominant classes and inseparable from the economic transformations of the time. The Exposition serves to implement mechanisms to territorial planning that the late industrial revolution, headed by the Catalan nationalist bourgeoisie, required to organize a expansive capitalist metropolis. (Ignasi de Solà-Morales, "La Exposición de Internacional de Barcelona: un instrumento de política urbana" in Recerques n. 6).

OBJECT OF RESEARCH

The Spanish Village, "a faithful reproduction of typical buildings taken from the various Spanish regions to represent its national past"[7], belongs to the linage of historical theme villages. By 1929 it became a well-known typology, as every Great Fair since 1867 in Paris included one. The "Old Manchester" at the 1886 Manchester Royal Jubilee Exhibition contained a replica of the tower of the Manchester Cathedral standing few miles away of its model and, in 1900, the banks of the Seine River famously housed *le Vieux Paris*, a catalogue of French architecture in scale one-to-one, chronologically organized in quartiers: Fifteenth century, sixteenth century, and eighteenth century. In north Europe outdoor architectural museums proliferated since the end of the 19th Century, not necessarily linked to Great Fairs. By 1910, Copenhagen in Demark, Oslo and Lillehammer in Norway and Folis in Finland compiled popular national architecture in open-air compounds populated by ethnographic collections often enacted by living performers.

Edward N. Kaufman characterizes these early representations of the national past as incoherent aggregations that, both in spatial and chronological terms, stress the fragmentary status of the buildings which they compile[8]. All these early examples show a mix between heroic and quotidian architecture that imitates the strategy of the ethnographic tableaux, in which everyday life scenes coexisted with epic episodes of national histories. In short, the historical villages allow the public to consume both the process and the product of the national tradition by housing crowds of ethnic figures and amusements.

The 138,000 square feet covered by the *el Pueblo Español* contain, just like other early historical villages, an implausible juxtaposition of architectural vernacular: A Romanic monastery from the north of Catalonia, several Andalusian white domestic courtyards, a *Mudejar* tower from Aragon, a traditional arched porch from the Atlantic coast, the rectangular main square omnipresent in every Castilian parish, and other 135 reproductions of buildings distributed in 17 streets and 10 squares. Its program combines functionalism, national flavors and eternal happening. More precisely, we find the post office, telegraph, public telephones, police station and fire department, sixteen restaurants, forty traditional workshops, a pharmacy, four bank offices and uncountable souvenir posts, all there to serve the visitors. Endless events entertain them, as the Spanish Village is the first venue in the 1929 International Exposition to extend its opening hours beyond midnight. Giants and big-heads, bullfights, flamenco dancers and gipsy singers, lumberjack and stone raisers from the Basque country, regional markets and traditional performers drag in the ethnic outfits offering donkey trips, traditional dances or picturesque postcards. In summary, process and products of the tradition at display.

Yet, after sixty years of existence, historical theme villages generate its own mutant offspring. By the mid-1920s two linages emerge: modern architecture eliminates 'history' from the theme villages while scientific knowledge voids its interiors. The former is best exemplified by the public interest on workers' housing that gives birth to the *social theme village*, epitomized in the Deutsche Werkbund Weissenhof Seidlung of 1925, while the latter emerges when the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York adds to its collections of medieval Cloisters and Pompeian atriums displays the

7. Unsigned, English introduction to the visual guide of the Spanish Village, *Esposición Internacional Barcelona*. Pueblo Español MCMXXIX, (Barcelona: Concesiones Graficas 1929).
8. KAUFMAN, Edward N. "The Architectural Museum from World's Fair to Restoration Village," in Assemblage n. 9, Jun 1989. pp. 20-39.

period rooms of US everyday interiors, replacing dilettante ethnographic tableaux for a scientific history of the domestic[9].

Progeny of the same typology, *el Pueblo Español* claims third line of evolution. To this end we read: "[The Spanish Village] wanted to exceed the fragmentary character of previous manifestations, reconstructing, not a determinate sector or hierarchy, but a complete village, (…) not a cold archeological representation, but rather an organic disposition alive"[10]. While its twin typologies take on discussions on social housing and history of the domestic, what defines difference in the village is its urban fabric.

The goal of the urban experiment is the construction of a continuous urban environment using unlikely fragments of historical buildings[11]. To this end, its authors used scientific fieldwork and photographic documentation. The technologies used in the design eventually shaped project contents transforming the village in a mass media device. Yet, this technological transformation was not the authors' conscious decision. The village's ultimate purpose, matching its predecessors, does not evolve: As an advertisement reads, the Spanish Village stages "the palpitations of a glorious past crystallized in its air, in the heat of artistic celebrations, popular manifestations and artisan activity carefully reconstructed; the subtle and eternal architecture of the Race's soul"[12].

Contrary to coetaneous avant-gardes, in the Spanish Village novelty is not an attitude but rather a side-effect[13].

IBERIONA, PREHISTORY

In October 6th, 1923, the ideologue behind *el Pueblo Español*, Miquel Utrillo i Morlius, outlines his ideological sketch of a *Spanish Sector* in a three page letter to the Barcelona Mayor, recently appointed new director of the Exposition[14]. Although it is not the final project, the pragmatic precision of his bureaucratic prose is already pregnant with the programmatic vision of manifestos, anticipating Spanish Village's use of mass media.

Son of a wealthy lawyer, in 1882 Utrillo graduates as agriculturist in Paris, where he frequents the bohemian circles of Montmartre fascinated by its cabarets. Between 1882 and 1891 he lives between Barcelona and different European capitals working as journalist, collaborating with artist. Utrillo returns to Barcelona in 1895 following a failed business venture promoting Chinese shadow play during the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893s. In following years, his notorious but secondary role in the cultural circles of Barcelona's *Modernismo* –local equivalent to *Art Nouveau*– and Noucentismo –eclectic neoclassicist academic revival filtered through Catalan nationalism– such as *els Cuatre Gats* or *Pel & Poma* will eventually grant him a position in the Artistic Consultancy of the 1929 International Exhibition. But more importantly, in 1912 Utrillo designs for American investor Charles Deering the beach retirement *MariCel*: A renovation of a bundle of gothic palaces that incorporates pieces of other historic buildings and historicist replicas produced by his *Modernist* friends. Predecessor of his Spanish Village, *MariCe*l tests architectural montage as means of intensifying the *picturesqueness* of *Sitges*, the fishermen Village south of Barcelona where the house is located.

9. Ibid.
10. Advertisement for the Spanish Village appeared in *Diario Oficial de la Exposicion Internacional Barcelona* in 1929. Op. Cit.
11. Robert A. Davison has describe the centralist ideological project of the General Primo de Rivera dictatorship behind this seamlessly integration of the different Spanish identities into a unifying urban environment in "Observing the City, Mediating the Mountain: *Mirador* and the 1929 International Exposition of Barcelona" in Susan Larson and Eva Woods Ed., *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*, Oxford: Berg, 2005.
12. Ibid.
13. "The avant-gardes" writes Manfredo Tafuri, "are always affirmative, absolutist and totalitarian. They attempt to peremptorily build a new and unprecedented, assuming that the linguistic revolution does not entail, but rather 'realizes' a social and moral change. [...] The posture of the experimentalism tends, on the contrary, to dismantle, contradict, take syntaxes and accepted languages to exasperation. Its innovations can be generously projected into the unknown, but the springboard used to jump is firmly grounded" (TAFURI, Manfredo, *Theories and History of Architecture*, New York: Harper & Row, 1979).
14. The plans for the Exposition go back to 1896, but is after the1905 Catalan elections, when the notorious architect and nationalist politician Josep Puig i Cadafalch uses extensively the slogan "to vote for the Universal Exposition," when the project becomes a reality. After General Primo de Rivera's coup d'état in September 1923 Spain moves to an overtly centralist dictatorial regime. The director, master planer and main force behind the Exhibition, Puig i Cadafalch, gets separated from the project–albeit his parti will remain–and the entire Board of Directors resigns. The Fair, purged of Catalanist ornaments, receives a new tripartite program,–Industry, Sports and Art–and its final name, International Exposition of Barcelona. Within a month from the coup, Miquel Utrillo i Morlius writes *Anteproyecto para la construcción y organización de una sección Española, en la cual, además de poder exponer los productos de artes suntuarias; podría verse trabajar a los artesanos en sus artes y oficios, rindiendo producto a la exposición y sirviendo de atracción y de espectáculo,* Letter to Mr Alvaréz de la Campa Mayor of Barcelona, October 6th, 1923, deposited in the private archives of Joan Domeneh i Polo.

Utrillo plots the precedent to *el Pueblo Español* combining his American experiences: Master puppeteer and architectural editor. In his design, "besides being able of displaying all the products of sumptuary arts, it would be possible to see the artisans working in their crafts and occupations, paying tribute to the exposition and serving as attraction and spectacle"[15], he notes. It is a showbiz impresario's dream: A daylong play in which actors pay for playing. To succeed in architectural terms, Utrillo avoids the contextual concessions of *MariCel*. Instead of picturesque house integrated in a village, he imagines an abstract site of 200x250 meters, enclosed by the streets of *Pirineos, Mar Latino, Lusitania and Cantabria*, actual limits of the Spanish Peninsula. While the geometry of village embraces the entire Spanish geography, its name brings the local scale back. Utrillo calls the village *Iberiona*, adding Barcelona's suffix to *Iberia*, the peninsula Arcadian name.

In his letter, Utrillo arranges Iberiona scenery, prefiguring the constituencies of the future Spanish Village, in this way:

1. *Iberia*, *Iberiona'*s open air square, measures 75x100 meters and is surrounded by a two stores high vernacular portico. Centered in relation to the perimeter, the square is the single perforation in the *Iberiona*'s volume, rendering a massive courtyard structure. Anticipating the Village's program, from the air, *Iberiona* is both a stretched block of the Cerdà grid and a fortification that encloses inaccessible space. Like Narcissus' pool –Echo's revenge– the compound both exposes to and preserves the old city of Barcelona.

2. Two umbilical cords communicate the square and the outside, "through which entourages, marches, parades, cavalcades, cortèges and processions formed outside of *Iberiona* will enter and leave"[16]. These narrow conduits represent Utrillo's understanding of laboratory conditions. *Iberiona*'s exceptionality only subsists thanks to a major help from the outside, but can paradoxically only exist in controled isolation.

3. Janus like, Utrillo designs *Iberiona* with two faces –i.e. with the gift to see both future and past. "While in the interior square should house stores of archaic or picturesque characters, or artistic or sumptuary at least, in the four exterior streets the modern character of all the establishments should be exaggerated"[17]. The schizoid arraignment uses a plausible dissociation to attract and convince visitors. After witnessing *Iberiona*'s state-of-the-art exterior, the interior façades will look even more archaic. As the ultimate procedure to construct authenticity, ancient atmosphere is created by enclosing it in a shell of modernity.

4. Utrillo stresses this disassociation through programmatic means, acknowledging that the modernity of its future visitors. *Iberiona*'s program respond to the tastes and weaknesses of *flâneurs*. In the outer ring only metropolitan establishments are permitted, "from real American bars, with all its special characteristics, to street cafes, if possible in the fashion of those of Paris and London"[18]. Once inside, however, *blasé* attitude is discouraged. To prevent distraction each store in the *Iberia* square provides one single product: "Coffee could be assigned to one business that will serve regular coffee, Moka, Turkish coffee, Viennese coffee, etc. but not liqueurs or drinks of any kind besides spring water. Other shop will supply Valencian *Horchata*, with no buns, sponge cakes or hot chocolate. The latter product, in Spanish, French,

15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.

Hollandaise or American fashion will be served only in a *Chocolateria*"[19]. The village is tailored for tourism relentless malaise: ADD.

5. *Iberia* square is the definitive *Boite à Miracles*, *avant la lettre*. It allows for any form of celebration of Spanish national clichés. Bullfighting, Basque traditional sports, Food festivals, the rural fiestas of Aragon, Castilian Knight tournaments, Galician bagpipes, Holly Week passion floats and Christian processions, Andalusian flamenco or Valencia paellas. In fact, in Utrillo's mind flexibility refers to architecture's ability to reduce national identity to a common denominator –i.e. mass spectacle. "[The square will be] properly fitted with collapsible stands, in which there will be comfortable and numbered seats, which will be sold and cashed as such"[20]. Furnished with the necessary technology, a picturesque square becomes the ultimate multi-purpose arena: An architectural mechanism meant to please masses.

The program of the village it's a mirror image of Barcelona urban egg-like structure –an historical district surrounded by modernity, a.k.a. Cerda's grid– technologically upgraded to suit mass audiences.

COMMISSION

Iberiona, a site-less rectangle waiting for an open spot in the Montjuïc hillside, is received with caution. Its monumental geometry and intensive use are ultimately incompatible with the Exposition. Its extension will exceed any the planed building and its mass spectacles will dry the rest of Exposition events.

Only after three years, the proximity of the deadline launches the project again. In May 1926 Utrillo joins the artistic consultancy of the Exhibition that is in charge of defining the content for the Spanish Art section. There he works on the first models of a *Typical Spanish Village*[21] together with Xavier Nogués i Casas, drawer, painter and engraver, well-known for his caricatures. Six months later, in December 1926, the Exposition officially commissions *el Pueblo Español* to the architects Francesc Folguera i Grassi and Ramón Reventós i Farrons, completing the quartet responsible for the design of the village[22].

Folguera and Reventós graduate in 1917 from the School of Architecture in Barcelona and are educated specifically on the Catalan *Modernisme* as much as on the subsequent revival of academic eclecticism known as *Noucentisme*. Heterodox in taste and production, after finishing the Spanish Village they will orient their professional practices toward intervention of historical buildings. Folguera will be best known for his works on the *Basílica de Montserrat* in Montserrat Mountains which is a geographical and symbolic core of Catalonia's catholic nationalism; but also for building the compound of S'Agaró, an historicist tourist complex in *la Costa Brava,* a sort of high-end Club Med on late Catalan Romanic style. Meanwhile, Reventós will become the head of the Barcelona Council's section on cultural buildings after building the twin Venetian Campanile in the entrance of the Exposition that is also the first officially 'rationalist' building in Barcelona. In the moment of the commission, however, Folguera is mainly known for his Olympia Circus, build between 1919 and 1923 for 6000 spectators with a 36 meters high cupola, while Reventós has completed, in 1923, a Greek theater in another abandoned quarry of Montjuic; proving that Utrillo's vision barely requires architects, but rather experts on mass expectacle.

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Mentioned in his letter to the Mayor of Barcelona, the Viver Baron from August 8th 1926. Archivo Municipal de Barcelona.
22. "Hoja de encargo de un Pueblo Típico Español," 28th, 1926. Archivo Historico del Colegi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya.

In fact, when the architects join the team, Utrillo and Nogués have already finished a massing model[23] adapting the later *Iberiona* to the single free site on the Fair, a former quarry and sandstone dumpster. The irregular topography distorts *Iberiona*'s symbolic geometry. Several picturesque streets negotiate unevenness, incorporating Camillo Sitte's perspective on urban design. Still, the model of the future Spanish Village contains the arcaded rectangular square; Utrillo's *Boite à Miracles*. The architecture of the individual buildings however remains unknown: "That model, authentic embryo of the Village, is the point of departure of the search for graphic examples of the diverse Spanish parishes that will fulfill the preëstablished characteristics," recalls Reventós[24].

Only after the moment of conception, Folguera and Reventós –circus and theater experts– are welcomed to work on the interior scenery.

GRAND TOUR

The Iconographic Service for the Monumental Spain[25] run by the *Diputación de Barcelona,* invested in the compilation of material for the archeological section on Spanish Art of the future Exposition, has compiled, by 1927, information on the most important buildings of Spain. The images, models, mockups and reproductions of famous cathedrals, medieval walls, monasteries and palaces, prove to be of no interest for the Utrillo's team, which looks for average architecture: "…not excessive solemnity and monumentality among the selected examples, rather local character of the represented regions; a selection of qualities among autochthonous construction materials, so they can be imitated in a convincing manner; sober and not excessively sumptuous decoration for façades; moderate dimensions to be able to fit the largest number of examples; representation of the largest possible number of regional types…"[26] Homogeneity is favored, exceptional architectural works are discarded. Everyday authenticity requires a subtle mix of ordinariness and the vernacular.

To find their desired vision, the team embarks on the fieldtrip: "We engaged in a picturesque trip. With a brand-new car we throw ourselves all over Spain. First the North, then the center, Valencia, Aragon and Catalonia. In the small distant villages the plate number of the car was surprising. Generally, a long line of kids chased the car and contemplated, curiously, how we took pictures, sketches, notes…"[27] The tour is martially organized. Nogués, the caricaturist, will sketch vernacular environments and annotate the colors. Reventós, the architect, will compile constructive techniques and solutions. Folguera, photography aficionado, will take pictures. Utrillo, ultimate impresario, will oversee the tour, decide the route and manage the expenses.

Eventually, Utrillo reconsiders the division of roles and asks everybody to bring a "photographic machine (One each, is better)"[28].

PHOTOGRAPHY

Utrillo's advice implies a pertinent intuition: Mass spectacle will require mass media techniques. The collected pictures define the means to complete the massing model and, by extension, to design *el Pueblo Español*.

23. "After getting the commission,"notes Juan Domènech I Polo in his chronology of the Spanish village "both [Folgera and Reventós] visited the municipal workshop to see a model of the projected Spanish Village, built under the supervision of Utrillo and Nogués. The model makers were the workers of the city Council Iglesias and Grau." Juan Domènech I Polo, "Los Origenes del Pueblo Español" in PIE, Martí et al., *El Pueblo Español,* Barcelona: Lunwerg Editores SA, 1989. p. 41.
24. Ramón Reventós i Farrons quoted by VIGIL VÁZQUEZ, Manuel. "Genesis del Pueblo Español de Montjuich" Op. Cit.
25. The *Servicio Iconográfico de la España Monumental de la Diputación de Barcelona*
26. Ramón Reventós i Farrons quoted by VIGIL VÁZQUEZ, Manuel. "Genesis del Pueblo Español de Montjuich" Op. Cit.
27. Ramón Reventós i Farrons interviewed by FERNÁNDEZ ESCOBÉZ, A. in "Como se hizo el Pueblo Español" *Diario Oficial de la Exposicion Internacional Barcelona 1929*, n. 45, January 11th, 1930.
28. UTRILLO I MORLIUS, Miquel. "Preparando la Maleta" letter to Nogués, Reventós and Folguera listing the items to bring to the first fieldtrip, deposited in the private archives of Joan Domeneh i Polo.

On the road, the will to document is exhaustive: "I write you from the car now that my colleagues are all taking pictures. We go to sleep early in the evening and we get up early in the morning to hit the road again, and some days we even bring our own food to not waste time," pens a drained Nogués to his lover Isabel Escalada[29]. Indeed, Utrillo's discipline requires a second trip to compile enough material –between 700 and 3.000 pictures[30]– to cover the naked model entirely. Some regions of Spain are cut out on the way. Balearic and Canary Islands are not accessible by car and the Board of the International Exposition decides to exclude Andalusian architecture to avoid overlapping–Seville houses another fair that same year, the *Exposición Iberoamericana* of 1929, that already includes an Andalucian Village[31]. By chance, the pragmatic outtakes contest modern architecture vernacular references. There will be no white walls in the Spanish Village.

Back in Barcelona, with the Village's massing already in place, decisions follow jigsaw puzzle logic: A finite number of pieces have to fit a preëstablished frame ultimately unveiling a coherent figure. Geography solves the overall structure. Every street will correspond to a Spanish region: The Aragon Place, the Galician Steps, the Castilian Alley, etc. Then, buildings are arranged to loosely fit the predefined volume. Exquisite corpses, the streets join disparate façades, architectural *objects trouvés*. But rather than conflict, the authors stress smoothness, as Reventós recalls: "Whatever was outside of Catalonia we took it from photographs and notes, reduced or blown up, according to the size needed to feet it into the buildings of the Spanish Village while producing a harmonic whole"[32]. Inverting the surrealist procedure, reductions, blowups, sequences, deformations, cuts –montage techniques, in essence– they pursue a continuity of seamless joints. "The reproductions were done in different scales; none was like the original in the number of windows, doors, arches, and the rest of the elements"[33]. To reduce impact in chance encounters of unlikely pieces, design moves to the black room. Designers explore operations proper to the editing table, to the photographic lab.

The use of such techniques however is rather pragmatic, rush-based: In June 1927, after two trips of several months, the schematic project for the Spanish Village is ready. In three moths the budget is also ready[34]. The Village becomes the second more expensive building in the Fair, only after the Great Palace[36]. One month later the construction drawings are submitted. The work, under the supervision of municipal officials, starts almost immediately, as soon as the contractor, *Obras y Construcciones SA*, signs the contract in January 1928[38]. But all the previous documentation proves insufficient and the design process continues. Reventós again: "We finished some plans at the same time that we finished rising the buildings they planned, and the gestation of the project took more time than the construction itself"[39].

The frantic rhythm of work validates doctored copies: not only they form an organic urban aggregate, they also optimize construction processes.

PRIMO DE RIVERA'S VISIT

Photography and its associated techniques enter the design process of the Spanish Village as expeditious mechanisms to solve time consuming tasks, as shortcuts for efficiency. Its repercussions however will not be recognized until

29. NOGUÉS I CASAS, Xavier. Letter to Isabel Escalada, quoted by Josep Maria Carandell in "Anverso y reverse del pueblo Español," in Martí Pie et al., *El Pueblo Español*, Op. Cit. p. 13.
30. According to Joan Domeneh i Polo, "Some have said 700; others 2.000 or 3.000. We have find more that 100" DOMÈNECH I POLO, Juan, "Los Origenes del Pueblo Español" Op. Cit. p. 45.
31. "The Expositions of Barcelona a Seville" note Folguera and Reventós in 1928 explaining why there was no Andalusian section in the Spanish Village "should have completed mutually without entering any kind of competence or rivalry. Under this criterion we thought that every peculiar representation of the Andalusian region was a private area for the Exposition of Seville. The fact that the architecture of the Andalusian villages presents a noticeable distinctive character of peculiar notes, nonexistent in the rest of the peninsula, favored the idea that that architecture had to be an object of a manifestation special and separate." Francesc Folguera i Grassi and Ramón Reventós i Farrons, "Idea del Barrio Andaluz" August 1928. Archivo Municipal de Barcelona.
32. Ramón Reventós i Farrons interviewed by FERNÁNDEZ ESCOBÉZ, A. Op. Cit.
33. VIGIL VÁZQUEZ, Manuel. "Genesis del Pueblo Español de Montjuich" Op. Cit.
34. Francesc Folguera i Grassi submits the "Anteproyecto para el Pueblo Español" in June 14th 1927. Archivo Municipal de Barcelona.
35. Francesc Folguera i Grassi submits the "Pliego de Condiciones para el Concurso para la adjudicaccion del la Construccion del Pueblo Español" in September 17th, 1927. Archivo Municipal de Barcelona.
36. In the general budget for the Exposition of the 1927, yearbook of the Board of the International Exposition of 1929 allocates nine million pesetas at the time for the construction of National Palace and seven million pesetas for the Spanish Village. Archivo Municipal de Barcelona.
37. Francesc Folguera i Grassi submits the "Proyecto ejecutivo para el Pueblo Español" in October 22nd, 1927. Archivo Municipal de Barcelona.
38. The construction company *Obras y Construcciones S.A.* signs the commission on January 18th, 1929 according to the notarial deed of that date. Archivo Municipal de Barcelona.
39. Ramón Reventós i Farrons interviewed by FERNÁNDEZ ESCOBÉZ, A. Op. Cit.

the process is repeated and the authors discover that by placing themselves behind the camera, they can actually adjust architecture's performance.

In the summer of 1928, the Dictator Primo de Rivera to the construction site in and complains about the fact that Andalusian architecture has not been included in *el Pueblo Español*. Besides the aforementioned overlapping with Seville's *Exposición Iberoamericana*, there is a pragmatic reason behind the exclusion: the difficulties of integrating Andalusian white walls in the stone-based *Pueblo Español*. This tectonic critique of the dictator interest on national unity does not succeed. New funds are allocated for a new fieldtrip and the plans for the new section of the village are hastily produced in parallel to the construction works. Borrowing a technique from double-exposure photography, the new set of drawings uses a gradient to resolve the encounter of stone and lime-covered facades. The new set also includes bystanders using photographic cameras. These figures illustrate the authors' recognition that tourist, rather than vernacular characters, are the village ultimate inhabitants. Since the characters reproduce the actions of the authors in their trips through Spain, they can be also read as homage to the use of photography in the conception of the village. But more important, they illustrate the main purpose behind the design of *el Pueblo Español*, to be photograph.

CONCLUSION: NARCISSUS' POOL

The chance encounter with mass media that squeezes *el Pueblo Español* into the History of Modern Architecture also outlines the ideological program of the village as Barcelona's uncanny mirror image.

One single picture inserts *el Pueblo Español* in the history of architecture: The picture of Mies van der Rohe German Pavilion for the International Exposition of 1929, reproduced in almost every history of modern architecture[40]. The image displays, from right to left, a close-up of the German flag, a diagonal shot of the pavilion's front façade revealing the stairs and wall that encloses the exterior pool, and, finally, the Spanish flag. The horizontal building contrasts the massive naked wall of the Palace *Reina Victoria Eugenia,* whose abstraction is only broken by an eclectic tower crowning its corner. Placed directly over the white cantilevers of Mies building and accurately centered between the two flags, the minaret is the gravitational center of the image, constructing a second important contraposition, key in the argument it illustrates: Academic eclecticism vs. modern architecture. Indifferent to the dispute, in the top left corner of the image, a forest leads to what it seems a walled fortification, *el Pueblo Español*.

Except for the sake of argument, Mies eliminated every trace of eclectic architecture in the images of the German Pavilion. As the shadows of a Doric colonnade and the flag of the Weimar Republic vanish in the image mentioned above, in the shot of the exterior pool looking toward the pavilion doors another eclectic tower will disappear as well. *El Pueblo Español*, however, remains. Emerging naturally from the forest, the walls of the Village suggest a rooted presence. The Village resembles a castle on the top the mountain, a military compound surveying the surrounding landscape, the sort of typology that populates promontories since the Middle Ages. Perceived as a traditional element of the vernacular landscape, the village is not edited out –Mies even increases the size of the walls of the compound to stress that effect[41].

40. Juan Pablo Bonta, in his *An Anatomy of Architectural Interpretation. A Semiotic review of the criticism of Mies van der Rohe Barcelona Pavilion* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1975) identifies the histories of architecture in which that image appears, which are, in chronological order, the following: Bruno Taut *Modern Architecture* (1929), Sheldon Cheney T*he New World Architecture (*1930), Henry-Russel Hitchcock and Philip Johnson *International Style* (1932) and *Modern Architecture* (1942), Sigfried Giedion *Space, Time and Architecture* (1954 Edition), Henry-Russel Hitchcock *Modern Architecture* (1958 edition), Nikolaus Pevsner *Outline of European Architecture* (1960 edition), Reyner Banham *Theory and Design in the first Machine Age* (1960), Peter Blake *Master Builders* (1960), Leonardo Benevolo *Storia dell'architettura moderna* (1960)., Vicnt Scully *Modern Architecture, the Architecture of Democracy* (1961).

41. For a comparative analysis of the doctored and not doctored version of the image explaining the significant value of Mies photographic alterations see Josep Quetglas, *Fear of Glass,* Basel: Boston: Birkhäuser-Publishers for Architecture, 2001. p. 161.

El Pueblo Español unfolds between two poles: vernacular structure and constructed mirage. It bears a resemblance to a military compound, that is, a space of exception devoted to activities separated from the city. At the same time it creates a space that compensates the accelerated process of metropolization of the city below, a medieval parish upgraded for mass consumption. The two layers surround it, at the same time, hide and make visible the mirrored otherness.

First is the site of International Exposition. Fair fences usually define territories invested with thematic potential. Expedited design and temporary constructions distinguish them from the customary compromise of architecture. They maximize architecture indulgence to react, to act in response. The 1929 International Exposition is not an exception, and its Beaux Arts plan highlights and denounces missing hierarchies in Cerdà grid outside. Unapologetic to the *Eixample's* indifferent neutrality, the Exposition axial composition arranges buildings in order of importance. By the central avenue, the *palaces*, generic massive containers wrapped historicist motives signed by powerful names of the local Academia[42]. They house grand exhibitions and broad content: Textiles, Chemistry, Metallurgy, Spanish Art, Transport, Chemistry or so. Behind, marginal to the overall structure, emerge the *pavilions*. Compact and content-specific, these structures allow individual creativity and modern architecture to test forms that follow function closely. "Certainly," notes Ignasi de Solà-Morales while describing the differences between *palaces* and *pavilions* in the Fair, "the buildings that point toward new ways of doing, those that are going to consolidate in time as the heritage of Modern Architecture, are minor buildings, with a much less precise location in the site, almost filling 'parking' spaces, small commercial or national pavilions destined to residual areas within a global and already defined structure of academic buildings"[43]. Didactically exposing architecture's internal battle, a disciplinary gradient lays out the site, from Beaux Art avenues to marginal modernism. By crossing the fence, ultimately, visitors enter a city's other. Rather than economic forces, it is the internal struggle of the discipline that shapes the Exposition's plan.

The second layer it is what appears to be a stone wall behind the German Pavilion. It does not prevents public witnessing of interior activities as much as it demands special attention to what the Village encloses. It prevents distraction. Once indoor there is no outside view. The crenellation is inaccessible and no exterior is visible. Noting how the Village was conceived as an interior Enric Granell writes: "When the Spanish Village is projected instantaneously they think of a walled city. Someone chose Ávila and Montblanc to lend theirs. Those walls distinguished in the Middle Ages what was inside –the city– from what was outside –something hostile to be defended from"[44]. Despite this aggressive interiority, in a fantastic leap inwards, the most hermetic of the three enclosures brings back memories of the exterior: A pre-Cerdà Barcelona freed from its metropolitan growth. The flashbacks are so intense that local newspapers document the controversy: Could the Spanish Village substitute the old city? "Barcelona must not offer itself to strangers, from wherever they may be as the city of the operetta, as a Vieux Paris from the Universal Exhibition, to accept all that is in the *Parque de Mountjuïc*. Barcelona should proudly exhibit its true, well conserved artistic treasure, which has never been corrected or increased in the modern way" writes in 1927 in *La Vanguardia* the architect Bonaventura Bassegoda when the plans to add a Barcelonan section

42. The Chemistry Pavilion, initially named Sport Pavilion by the Architect Antonio Sardá. The National Palace by the architects Pedro Cendoya, Pedro Doménech Roura and Enrique Catá. The Palace of Projections by Eusebio Barraand Francisco Aznar, The State Pavilion by Enrique Sagnier. Pavilion of Graphic Arts by Pelai Martínez and M.Duran Reynals. Palace of Textiles, initially named Palace of the Light, by Juan Roig and Emilio Canosa. Palace of Metallurgy by Amadeu Llopartand Alejandro Soler March. Pavilion of Transportation by Adolf Florensa and Félix de Azúa.

43. SOLÀ-MORALES, Ignasi de. "La Exposición Internacional de Barcelona: Arquitecturas contaminadas" in *CAU* n. 57, pp. 48-53. Solà-Morales largely unpacks the same distinction in "L'Arquitectura de l'Exposició. Palaus i Pavellons," in *Grans Temes L'Avenç: L'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona* del 1929, 1975, pp. 3-17.

44. GRANELL Enric, "L'Exposició com a Interior: 'El Arte en España' i els jocs d'Aigua-Llum" Op.Cit. p. 52.

to the Village are unveiled[45]. Fears of confusion will stop the addition, only to demonstrate that the Village mutates the martial logic of visibility that the castle played in Barcelona's unconscious. The city recognizes itself, inside the walls of Spanish Village. Turning the directionality of surveillance inside-out, it embraces the masochist pleasure of the peepshow –look but don't touch. The voyeuristic mechanism strengthens in coming years. While the Spanish Village becomes Barcelona's primer touristic destination, the old city falls in the oblivion of promotion agencies until the mid 1950s[46].

POSTSCRIPT

We have to wait until 1960 to recover the village from the architects' oblivion, when the architect Oriol Bohigas, ideologist behind the 1980s renovation of Barcelona historic district, uses *el Pueblo Español* as an example against the excesses of modern urbanism[47]. More important however, is the inclusion of the article in the Bohigas's brief history of Barcelona modern urbanism, specifically in the section "Barcelona Urbanistic Suggestions"[48] joining two heavy weight examples such as Cerda's grid and the bureaucratic planning of the 1950's. Bohigas is perhaps the first to recognize the agonistic rather than antagonistic relation between Barcelona the village and he won't hesitate to use the lessons of *el Pueblo Español* in his future plans for Barcelona.

45. BASSEGODA, Bonaventura. "Error Lamentable," in *La Vanguardia*, March 25 th, 1927. Quoted in Joan Ganau, "Invention and Authenticity in Barcelona's Barri Gótic" in *Future Anterior*, volume III, n. 2 p. 16.

46. While Oriol Bohigas acknowledges that "last year [1959] more than half million of Tourists visited the village" (BOHIGAS, Oriol, "Comentarios al 'Pueblo Español' de Montjuïc" in *Arquitectura* n. 35, November 1961, p. 18), Joan Ganau notes how "around 1950, Spain started to become an important tourist destination. *Barcelona Atracción*, which was the most important publication for promoting the city to visitors, reveals that the *Barri Gótic* was never listed as one of Barcelona's tourist attractions until the 1950s." (GANAU Joan, "Invention and Authenticity in Barcelona's *Barri Gótic*" Op .Cit. p. 21.) And by 1960, Manuel Vigil Vázquez refers to "the idea of its extramural extension that persists, and will eventually happen." VIGIL VÁZQUEZ, Manuel. "Génesis del Pueblo Español de Montjuich" *S'Agaró*, 1960.

47. BOHIGAS, Oriol. "Comentarios al 'Pueblo Español' de Montjuïc" in *Arquitectura* n.35, November 1961.

48. BOHIGAS, Oriol. "Suggeriments ubanístics de Barcelona" in *Barcelona, entre el Pla Cerdà i el Barraquisme*, Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1963, p. 77.